

of Pehr Löfling, a student of Carl Linnaeus, who served as a naturalist in a Spanish expedition to present-day Venezuela. Nyberg discusses Löfling's impressions about the peoples, cultures, and places that he encountered to show the fluid and changing nature of Löfling's ideas about foreign cultures and places.

The volume ends with a conclusion by De Cunzo that provides a good overview of the articles and draws the variety of themes addressed throughout the book together. Additionally, De Cunzo ends by posing questions for further thought and suggesting avenues for further research. Overall, the collection showcases new and innovative approaches to the study of Swedish encounters with foreign places, ideas, and groups during the early modern period. While some of the articles seem preliminary in nature, others provide detailed analyses of the issues under discussion. This volume is particularly valuable because it showcases recent developments in Swedish archeology and history and highlights how scholars from both fields are challenging accepted ideas about early modern Swedish society and culture.

Kirsteen M. Mackenzie. *The Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms and the Cromwellian Union, 1643–1663*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017. xii + 210 pp. + 6 illus. \$119.96. Review by SIMON KOW, UNIVERSITY OF KING'S COLLEGE.

Kirsteen M. Mackenzie's monograph is a meticulously researched historical study of the "Covenanted interest" during the British civil wars, Protectorate, and early Restoration in the seventeenth century. The book's innovation for British historians is in providing "the first major analysis of the covenanted interest from an integrated three kingdoms perspective," and thereby countering the tendency to overlook "the corruption and dysfunctionality of the English government across the kingdoms" (2). For seventeenth-century specialists who are not scholars of British constitutional or ecclesiastical history, the an-

of Presbyterian Covenanters in England, Scotland, and Ireland in this cataclysmic period in British history. Those who saw the Solemn League and Covenant as the basis of settled religious reformation in

Britain would run up against the Independents in Cromwell's army and Protectorate, and unsuccessfully attempt reconciliation with the Royalist party in light of the English army's trial and execution of King Charles I. Mackenzie carefully charts the predicaments and ultimate defeat of the Covenanted interest in the three kingdoms.

Mackenzie's introduction situates the Covenanted interest in relation to events up to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. She traces the idea of the Covenant in the formation of a shared Protestant culture in England and Scotland, especially after the union of the crowns in 1603. Thus, the antecedent to the 1643 Solemn League and Covenant was the National Covenant of 1638, which upheld Scottish Reformation ideals in relation to Scottish law by stressing the King's duty to uphold the reformed faith. Mackenzie usefully shows how the National Covenant was followed by the establishment of connections not only between England and Scotland, but also with the Ulster Plantation and beyond in Ireland—though she consistently reminds the reader that the formulation of the Covenanted interest before and after 1643 varied across the three kingdoms as well. Although the Solemn League and Covenant laid out the institutional framework for union between England, Scotland, and Ireland, Mackenzie delineates the similarities and differences between the Presbyterian institutions in the three kingdoms. Furthermore, she details not just the Covenanted establishment of secular and church government, but also the recruitment of troops and raising of money for the war effort and reform of the universities as the breeding-grounds of future ministers.

Mackenzie then considers the "emergence of the anglocentric challenge" from 1643 to 1648, which she (somewhat confusingly) describes as "the emergence of a private interest at the expense of the public interest" (36)—"private" here, it seems, is equated with anglocentrism and Independency (including liberty of individual conscience), and "public" with the Covenanted interest and Presbyterian church government in the three kingdoms. In other words, given Cromwell's leadership of the English army, English propagandists denied that God favoured Anglo-Scottish union under the Solemn League and Covenant; instead, "success was a sign of God's blessing on the English Parliament and the English people, partly assisted by the Scots, but not in an equal partnership or union" (41). Mackenzie

charts the paper war between these two providentialist accounts, and ultimately the Covenanters' pursuit of aid from the King himself over the 1640s and 50s.

Faced, then, with the prospect of Cromwell and the Independents undermining the Solemn League and Covenant, the Anglo-Scottish Presbyterians sought accommodation with the King whom they interpreted as covenanted monarch. Charles I, however, rejected this interpretation. After his execution in 1649, Mackenzie argues, the Commonwealth actively opposed the potential for such accommodation across the three kingdoms, while the Royalists and Presbyterians failed to come to an agreement in the 1650s. After the regicide, Presbyterians sought to convince Charles II that the Covenant was the firmest basis for union between the three kingdoms against Cromwell's army. But Cromwell successfully invaded Scotland and declared the Anglo-Scottish Covenant dissolved by the English Commonwealth. Mackenzie details the various ways in which the Commonwealth then suppressed the Covenanted interest in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Covenanted interest did not disappear under Cromwell's Protectorate, established in 1653, but rather entered a new phase. Cromwell as Lord Protector sought to recruit and co-opt English Presbyterians through a committee system of Triers and Ejectors. As their names indicate, the Triers approved "new ministers and existing ministers in their new livings" while the Ejectors were tasked with ejecting "ministers who were deemed to be 'ignorant, scandalous, insufficient or negligent'" (124). In Scotland, the Protectorate attempted religious settlement through Gillespie's Charter of 1654, which entailed state control and regulation of universities and ministers. Under strident protest from Scottish Presbyterians, these plans for settlement were set aside in favour of strengthening the authority of Kirk synods and presbyteries. In the Ulster plantation, meanwhile, the Presbyterian church was re-established and expanded under the Protectorate. By the late 1650s, Presbyterianism flourished not only in Ireland, but also England through the formation of "Classical associations" in the English counties based on the pre-Protectorate Classical Presbyterian church government of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Scottish Kirk, however, was divided over English policy and how to revive Anglo-Scottish cooperation under the Covenant.

The Covenanted interest across the three kingdoms strove to preserve itself in the period after Cromwell's death to the collapse of the Protectorate and the early years of the Restoration. The Presbyterian church continued its revival especially in England and Ireland under the Protectorate of Cromwell's son Richard. But by 1659, following Richard's deposition, many Presbyterian ministers supported the rebellion against the "Restored Rump" and the "Committee of Safety." Mackenzie points out, however, that the "Royalists were steering the agenda and not the Presbyterians and, as in the mid-1650s, the Covenant was rejected as a method to unite the King's allies" (178). Although many Presbyterians in Scotland, England, and Ireland supported the restoration of the monarchy on Covenanted terms, this was not the view of the Royalists and Charles II in particular. In 1660, the King "restored the Anglican Church, the Church of Ireland and bishops to the Kirk of Scotland and ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned by the hangman at Tyburn" (184). Instead of an Anglo-Scottish or Presbyterian-Royalist alliance as the Covenanted interest hoped, the Presbyterians were seen as "fanatics" rather than "moderate" supporters of the King. Presbyterianism was disestablished in England, Ireland, and eventually Scotland (as the Court did not want to antagonize the Scots unduly by an over-hasty re-imposition of Episcopacy there). By 1661, the Solemn League and Covenant was null and void in Scottish as well as English law; the "Presbyterians in Scotland, like their counterparts in Ireland and England, were now firmly outlaws and outcasts" (193).

Overall, Mackenzie provides an informative and nuanced analysis of the Covenanted interest from the Solemn League and Covenant to the Restoration in the three kingdoms. Her conclusion nicely summarizes the narrative of the book, though this reviewer would like to have read her considerations on the legacy and implications of the rise and fall of the Covenanted interest for British history. Furthermore, while the chronological narrative is generally and admirably clear, given the range of material tackled and complexity of this historical period, the book would have benefitted from more exposition and summary in certain chapters. For example, Chapter Three associates the theme of "corruption" with "the private interest" (as opposed to the Covenanted interest) but could have expanded on what corruption

precisely means in this context. And the chapter on “Anglo-Scottish defence and Presbyterian fanfare, 1656–1658” does not explicitly explain why the terms “defence” and “fanfare” have been chosen for the chapter’s title. These are, however, minor quibbles over what is a sound and useful contribution to the historiography of the British civil wars.

Jonathan Fitzgibbons. *Cromwell’s House of Lords: Politics, Parliaments and Constitutional revolution, 1642–1660*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2018. viii + 274 pp. \$130.00. Review by TED VALLANCE, UNIVERSITY OF ROEHAMPTON.

Jonathan Fitzgibbons’ monograph, based on his 2010 doctoral thesis, tackles a subject largely ignored in the historiography of the Interregnum, the Cromwellian “Other House.” As Fitzgibbons acknowledges, this neglect may partially be explained by the institution’s very short lifespan (two Parliamentary sessions amounting collectively to no more than 14 weeks). Equally, the focus on the Second Protectoral Constitution has been directed primarily at the question of the offer of kingship, leading scholars to ignore the other developments from the Instrument of Government. This study, however, does considerably more than simply “fill a gap” in interregnum scholarship. Fitzgibbons argues persuasively that an analysis of the Cromwellian second chamber can provide a more detailed insight not only into Cromwell’s plans for settlement but also into the ultimate downfall of the Protectorate. Fitzgibbons contends that it was the intervention of the Army, rather than fundamental structural weaknesses in the second Protectoral constitution which led to the end of Richard Cromwell’s regime.

Fitzgibbons begins his study by exploring the place of the Lords in Parliamentary political thought of the 1640s, as outlined in the work of writers such as Henry Parker and William Prynne. He suggests that these texts display no significant hostility to the Lords as an institution and that, in general, these writers associated Parliamentary sovereignty with both the Lords and the Commons. Consequently, the abolition of the Lords in 1649 was fundamentally an act of political expediency, Fitzgibbons concludes, and not ideologically driven. The wider claim